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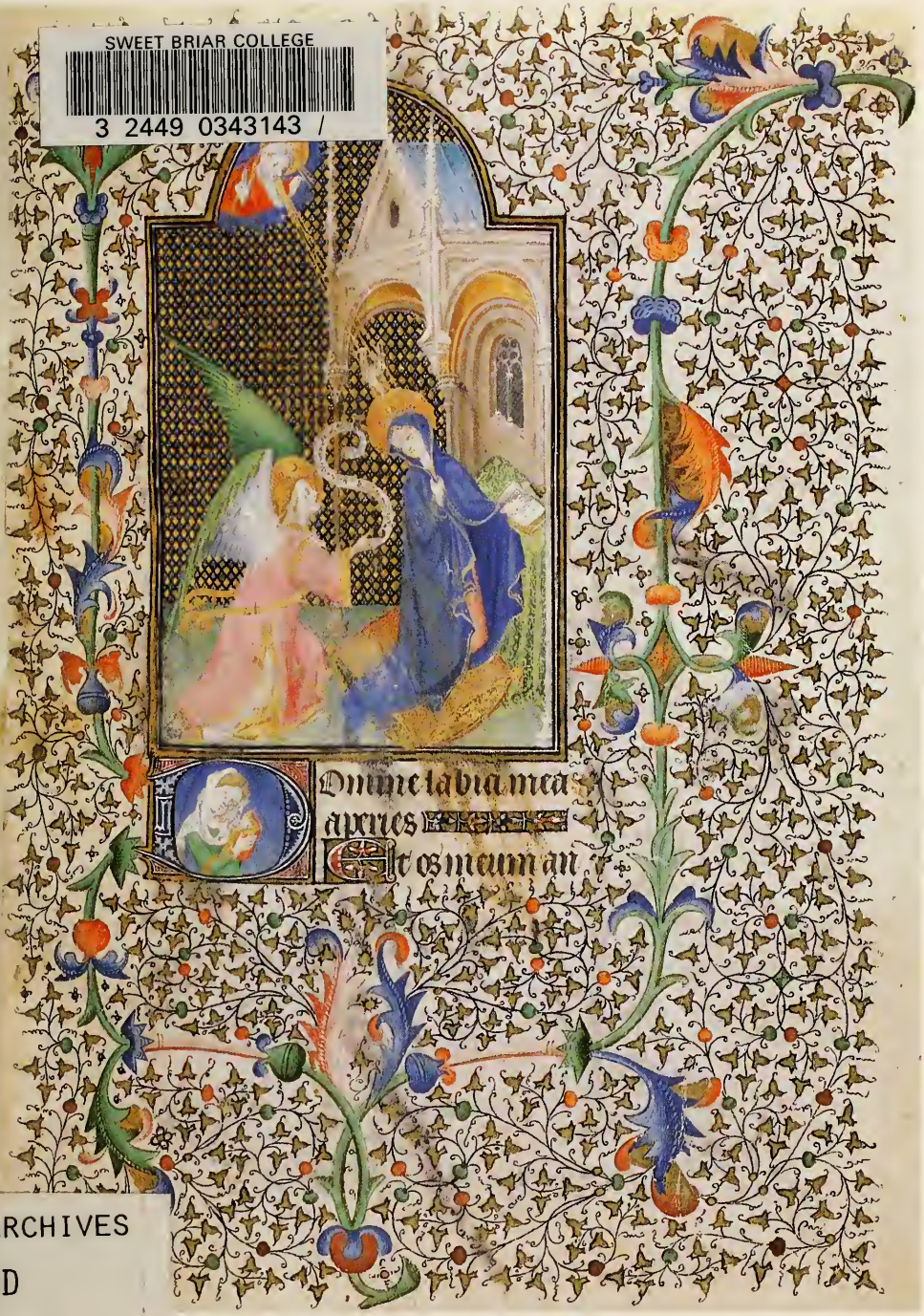

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Medieval Matters

above: **Seven Days of Creation**, Genesis, *Bible*, MS W. 60 folio 5v., Paris, 13 th century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

cover: **The Annunciation**, Hours of the Virgin: Matins, *Book of Hours*, MS A.2130, folio 20. Paris, c. 1420. Library of Harry A. Walton.

ERRATA

•St. Luke, Gospel Book, MS A.900, catalog listing of folio 95v. should be folio 99v.-100, Byzantine, twelfth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

•The Annunciation, Hours of the Virgin: Matins, Book of Hours, MS A.2130, listing of folio 20 should be folio 20v-21. Paris, c. 1420. Library of Harry A. Walton.

•Catalog listing of Calendar describes January; in fact the opening is for October/ November: Man Picking Grapes (October) and Man Knocking Down Acorns for Pigs (November), Calendar, Psalter, MS W.36 folio 3, Bruges, mid-thirteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Psalters and Books of Hours often included calendars containing a compendium of information. Time was organized by the various services in the Church, which celebrate major events associated with Christ and the saints. Individual days were designated by the feast appointed for that day; we still refer to Christmas Day rather than December 25 and Hallowe'en (October 31) as the eve before All Hallows' Day, now known as All Saints' Day (November 1). Major feasts were often written in red, hence the phrase "red-letter day" or, in more deluxe manuscripts, in blue or gold. Easter is a moveable feast and was determined at the Council of Nicea in 325CE to be the Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox. Elaborate formulae were concocted to enable one to calculate Easter in any given year using the roman numerals (Golden Numbers) and letters (Dominical Letters) on the left hand side of the page. To the right of the Dominical letters is another column; this is a vestigial remnant of the calendrical system used in ancient Rome. For example, in October the feast of St. Luke (October 18) is also "xvi Kalendas Novembris."

Illustrations for a calendar typically centered on the signs of the zodiac and the labors of the month, but most were only minimally illustrated, if at all. The medieval attachment to the soil is emphasized by such seasonal activities as harvesting grapes (October) or knocking down acorns to fatten the pig (November).

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edieval Matters

Illuminated Manuscripts

from
The Walters Art Gallery
and the
Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton

February 17 - April 20, 1997

Sweet Briar College
Anne Gary Pannell Art Gallery

MARY HELEN COCHRAN LIBRARY
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Foreword

Few artifacts from human history evoke so many senses simultaneously as illuminated manuscripts. For centuries, each viewer has seen something individual and personal; each glance has unfolded story upon story. These manuscripts can be viewed purely as exquisite works of art or studied in infinite detail for what they can tell us of the lives of their makers, of the disciplined minds of the authors, illuminators and scribes who created them, and of the spiritual and intellectual scope of the eras that produced them and preserved them so lovingly for our use. And always, the manuscripts testify to the reverence the medieval world held for the written word.

Thus, an exhibition such as this one celebrates myriad goals of a liberal arts college, providing a special laboratory in which to exercise our critical thinking, our apprehension of creativity, and our ability to synthesize disparate information. This exhibition brings objects from the past to light before the young eyes of the future. It provides the stuff of research, not least because the manuscripts are original documents that no reproduction can wholly capture.

Manuscripts have been the subject of much scholarship which has been brought to bear on this exhibition. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Harry A. Walton and The Walters Art Gallery, visitors to "Medieval Matters" will be able to link, almost seamlessly, numerous disciplines within the humanities, among them art history, art, religion, history, classical studies, and foreign language. Indeed, the manuscripts cannot help but have an impact well beyond those disciplines, for, as Professor Laing has pointed out in her introductory essay, the

medieval period informs us about our own lives and cultures. In an age when many people predict the end of the book as we know it, the medieval illuminated manuscript is a poignant reminder that the written text is precious - our most important treasure.

As is usual with special exhibitions at Sweet Briar, the Art Gallery docents, all Sweet Briar students, will present tours for groups from the community and beyond. Our ongoing relationship as "Partners in Learning" with Amherst and Nelson County schools will result in school children seeing objects so rare as to have the possibility of tremendous impact upon their young imaginations.

It is a privilege, therefore, to thank Sara Finnegan Lycett '61, Chairman of Sweet Briar's Board of Directors, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for her enthusiastic support of this exhibition, which links two of her favorite institutions, Sweet Briar College and The Walters Art Gallery, where she has long served as a docent. Thanks are in order as well to Aileen H. Laing, Professor of Art History, for her perseverance in her pursuit of this exhibition, and to Rebecca Massie Lane, Director of College Galleries and Arts Management, for her work as liaison between many people and institutions who have assisted us in this endeavor.

And, to you, the audience of the exhibition, I say, in the words of Fra Giovanni, a sixteenth century monk, "Take Joy!"

Elisabeth Muhlenfeld
President
Sweet Briar College

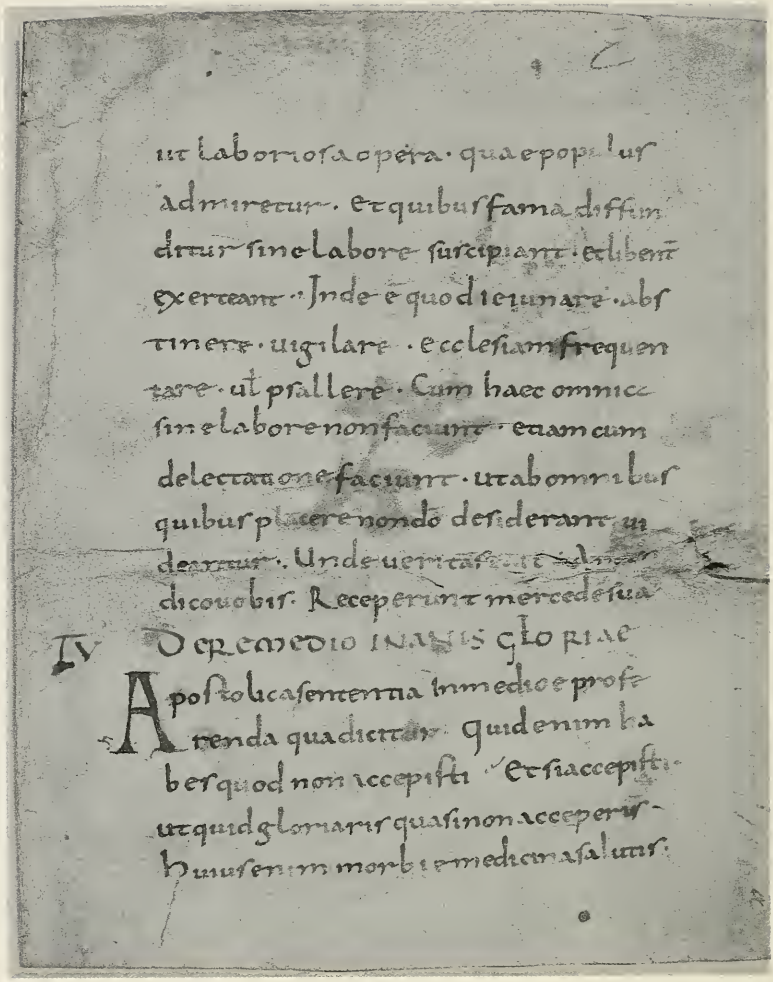
Acknowledgements

From the day that the Pannell Gallery opened, I wanted to combine a manuscript exhibition with my Medieval Matters Seminar, but it would never have happened without the guidance and able support of many people. While there are many unsung heroines in this saga, I must single out a few for particular recognition: my eagle-eyed editors, Lilian Randall and Diane Moran, whose suggestions have made the catalogue essay more pleasurable to read, although all remaining errors are mine alone; Sara Lycett, my old schoolmate, who initiated the contact with the Walters Art Gallery; Allen Huszti, Judith Evans-Grubbs and Constantine Hadavas, who shared their scholarly expertise in classical and musical texts; AnaMarie Liddell who designed the exhibition, created cradles, and performed many essential tasks in the preparation of the show; Mike Bray and John Sites who tirelessly and cheerfully calibrated the conditions in the Gallery to make the manuscripts comfortable; the staff at the Walters Art Gallery, in particular, Marianna Shreve Simpson, Abigail Quandt, and John Klink, and former manuscripts' curator, Elizabeth Burin, who have answered interminable questions and worked with us to make this show possible; Mr. Harry A. Walton, whose generosity in loaning us his manuscripts was matched by his willingness to open his library on numerous occasions for us to study, measure, and enjoy his treasures; and, top of the heap, my friend and collaborator, Rebecca Massie Lane, who has shepherded the entire operation from inception to completion.

Without the generous support of Sweet Briar College, this exhibition would not have been possible. In particular, the Sue Reid Slaughter Fund and the Interdisciplinary Studies Fund have assisted, as have George Lenz, Dean of the College; Mitchell Moore, Vice-President for College Relations; and Sara Lycett, Chairman of Sweet Briar's Board. The creative talents of Monica Dean, Catherine Bost, Karla-Beth Liebl Faulconer, Charles Grubbs, and AnaMarie Liddell resulted in this catalogue.

The creation of a medieval manuscript was often a group enterprise. Our exhibition is, thus, a truly medieval creation.

Aileen H. Laing
Professor of Art History
Sweet Briar College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tare · ut psallere · Cum haec omnia
sine labore non faciunt · etiam cum
delectatione faciunt · ut ab omnibus
quibus placere nondo desiderant un
dexerunt · Unde uerissime [illegible]
dicono bis · Receperunt mercedem sua

IV DE REMEDIO INANIS GLORIAE

Apostolica sententia immedicoe profe
renda qua dicitur · Quid enim ha
bes quod non accepisti · Et si accepisti
ut quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis ·
Humanum enim morbi remedium salutis

Figure 1: **"De remedio inanis gloriae...,"** *Apostolica sententia...*, MS 1954.002, Single Leaf. Carolingian, ninth century. Sweet Briar College.

Introduction

Open an illuminated medieval manuscript and you are confronted simultaneously with the foreign and the familiar. While most contemporary books are secular in nature and are designed to entertain or to provide information, medieval manuscripts are typically religious in nature and were designed for devotions either in private or public worship. Written and decorated by hand on vellum, manuscripts are unique objects; modern books are mass produced, printed on paper and decorated by a replicating process such as photography. But look more closely at the medieval manuscript and familiar scenes emerge—a landscape with a town, hills and water reflecting the surroundings, a woman reading in bed, or recognizable birds and animals which can be found in the miniatures or the margins. As Barbara Tuchman said, studying the Middle Ages is like looking into a distant mirror: we glimpse our world in that one, almost as if out of the corner of our eye. The medieval world matters if we want to fully understand our own, especially as we approach the second millenium.

Medieval matters, those things which were of concern to Europeans in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, are often not so different from our own preoccupations. Forces beyond our control may end the world abruptly; plagues of unknown origin cause fear and ostracism of the infected; endemic localized warfare disrupts individual lives; and technological advances improve physical well-being, to name just a few matters of concern both to the Middle Ages and the twentieth century. A shifting understanding of literacy is characteristic of both cultures. In the Middle Ages, writing was a skilled and laborious task, and literacy meant the ability to read and write in Latin; only in

the later Middle Ages did the vernacular languages begin to replace Latin for an increasingly secular audience. Today's literacy requires that one be able to use a computer, but no longer does computer literacy mean the ability to write a software program. In the high and late Middle Ages, the period generally covered in this exhibition, Western Europe was shifting from an oral to a writing society. Today we seem to be shifting back to a visual society with televison, video, and the world wide web.

Our unifying element is communication via television and cyberspace; in the Middle Ages it was the Church. Through technology we have the ability to experience different levels of reality simultaneously; medieval spirituality enabled individuals to pass beyond their physical condition and experience what they believed to be a higher, truer reality. Time is an artificial construct intended to bring order to our world. For a medieval individual time was structured by the liturgical seasons (the year began with Advent), by the canonical hours of the day (often indicated by the ringing of church bells), and by the rising and setting of the sun or the changing seasons. In modern society time is structured by electronically programmed clocks down to nanoseconds, seasons are almost obliterated by heating and cooling systems, and artificial lighting denies the reality of the sun. We are similar and yet so very different. As you study the manuscripts and books covers in this exhibition, I encourage you to contemplate other ways in which the medieval world matters to us.

aking the Book

The introduction of the codex, the book as we know it today,

revolutionized the world of the late Roman Empire in much the same way that computers are radically changing the way in which we transmit information today. Sheets of vellum were folded and cut into sections, usually of eight or sixteen pages, to form a quire; quires were stitched and bound to create the book—or codex. By the fourth century the bound book or codex had essentially replaced the scroll and was intimately linked with the rapidly expanding religion of Christianity. Its benefits were multiple, but the primary advantage was the creation of a more effective means of juxtaposing text and image. Both secular and religious texts were copied and decorated in the codex form. As Christianity came to dominate western European civilization from the fourth century on, books for the liturgy, instruction and private devotion were in great demand. In the twelfth century secular texts became an important element in the book trade and imagery derived from the world of a lay audience gradually began to appear in religious books.

Monastic scriptoria were responsible for most of the manuscripts produced in the earlier Middle Ages. From the thirteenth century onward, most were made by professional laics and the actual process of creating a book became more specialized. A single individual in a monastic scriptorium was often responsible for both writing and illuminating a book; by the end of the Middle Ages one book may have passed through many hands before going to its owner. Following the preparation of the parchment, often from calf or sheepskin, the page was organized by pricking or ruling to establish the number of lines and columns of text and the location of decorative initials or miniatures. A sketch or verbal description of the subject for the larger historiated initials and miniatures might be included in the space allotted to the

artist. These instructions for the craftsmen were generally designed to be removed, the prickings along the edge by trimming, the artist's guides by painting over them. Only the rulings tend to remain, as can be seen in several of the manuscripts on display. Vellum was expensive and not lightly discarded even if flaws appeared. Scribes and artists became adept at incorporating blemishes into their design scheme. In the same spirit a textual error or omission did not result in discarding the entire page; the correction, if minor, would be inserted above the line or added in the margin with a device to indicate its correct location. Both types of correction are used in the Historia Anglorum [Fig. 8]; two words and a letter have been inserted using a caret and a longer phrase has been written in the margin topped by three short lines which appear again above a caret, to indicate the insertion point.

The text itself went through many changes. Latin uncial, a rounded form of capital letters, became the standard form for Early Christian books but, as they were copied by less educated scribes, the text grew less legible and errors crept in. In the late eighth century Charlemagne sponsored the transcription of many classical and Early Christian manuscripts correcting textual errors and introducing a script which was easier to read, the Carolingian miniscule [Fig. 1]. In the Gothic period two different scripts prevailed; Gothic bookhand was a formal script used for important, often devotional texts [Fig. 7, for example] while a Gothic cursive developed for legal texts and gradually became the preferred script for books written in a vernacular language [Fig. 5, for example]. In fifteenth-century Italy Renaissance scholars introduced a humanistic bookhand that was derived from Carolingian script [Fig. 2] and whose letter forms provided

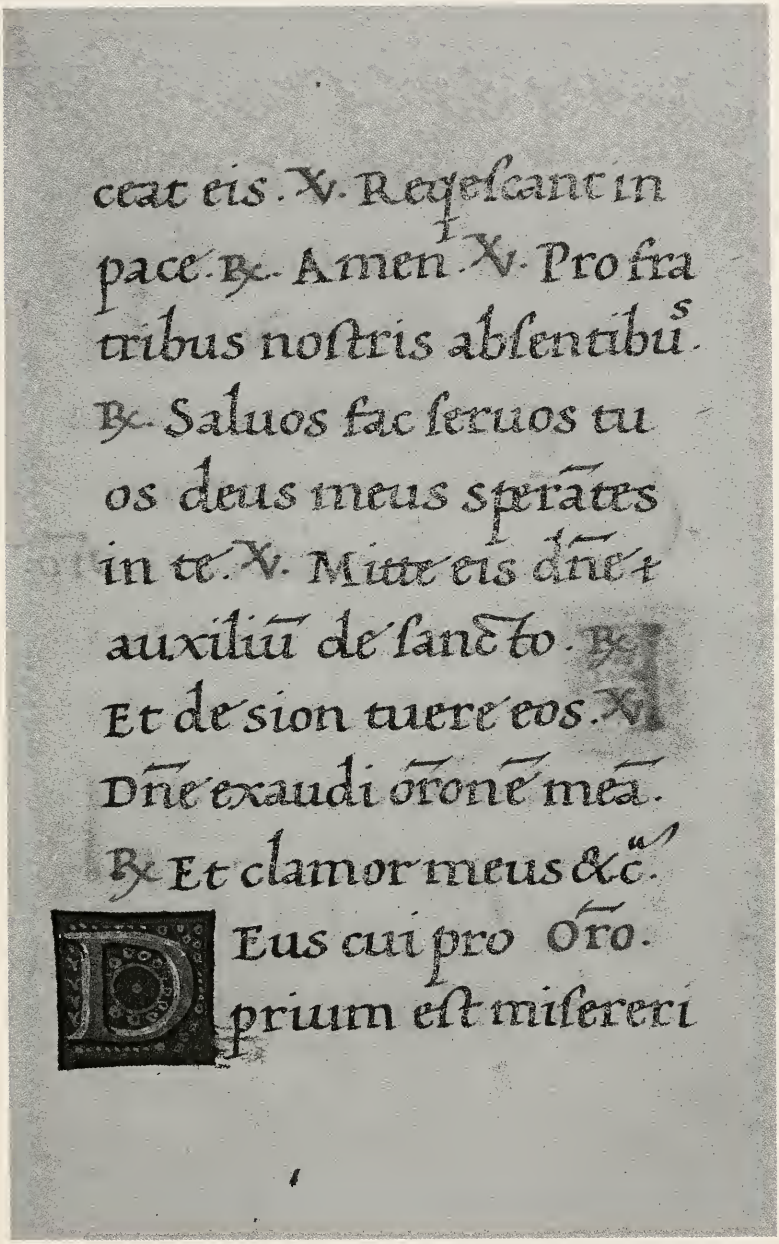

ceat eis. ℣. Requiescant in
pace. ℟. Amen. ℣. Pro fra
tribus nostris absentibus.
℟. Saluos fac seruos tu
os deus meus sperantes
in te. ℣. Mitte eis dñe
auxiliū de sancto. ℟.
Et de sion tuere eos. ℣.
Dñe exaudi orōnē meā.
℟. Et clamor meus &c.
Eus cui pro oro.
prium est misereri

Figure 2: *Prayer Book*, MS 1995.016, single leaf. Italy, late fifteenth century. Sweet Briar College.

the basis for fonts used in printed texts from the mid-fifteenth century on.

Decoration of a manuscript often depended on the function of the text or the depth of the patron's pocket. Gold leaf, blue made from lapis lazuli, and other precious materials were favored in deluxe liturgical books to honor the Word of God; in private devotional texts the use of these materials also elevated the self-esteem of the patron. At the other end of the decorative scale simple initials picked out in red or blue to designate textual divisions formed the only embellishment. Most of the manuscripts in this exhibition occupy a median range between these two extremes.

Books, like other artifacts, are subject to the vicissitudes of history. The sanctity of religious and devotional texts meant that they were generally given greater protection, but during periods of religious, social and political upheaval they were often subject to mutilation or destruction. Secular texts were generally treated more casually and were discarded as tastes changed and when printed books came into fashion.

To protect the codex and to keep the vellum pages smooth, books were bound between wooden boards. These were covered by a variety of materials based on the contents of the book or the wealth of the owner. Choir books, which were large, heavy volumes, were usually bound with leather-covered wooden boards and protected from abrasion on the shelf by brass corner pieces and bosses. A smaller Psalter for private use might be covered with sheepskin or velvet with leather or intricately worked metal clasps to assure optimal preservation of the

contents. Jewelled covers embellished with gold and silver proclaimed the status of a sacred text as well as its patron or owner and were often used for Gospel books displayed on the altar of wealthy foundations.

Using the Book

The liturgy or public worship grew more complex and elaborate as the Church gained dominance over the lives of western Europeans. The Mass or celebration of Holy Eucharist is at the heart of Christian worship, but other rituals and prayers were added over the course of time to produce complex and highly impressive ceremonial rites. Books for specific use in different parts of the liturgical service or to be used by different participants were devised to meet essential needs. The deacon read from the Gospel Book, the celebrant of the Mass used the Breviary for the Divine Office (the first part of the liturgy), the Sacramentary or Missal for the Mass, and the choir sang from the Gradual or the Antiphonal.

Subdivisions at logical junctures of the text were often illustrated. Deluxe Gospel books, for example, featured an Evangelist portrait at the opening of each relevant text. Classical treatises had frequently included author portraits providing both a tradition and a model for medieval book designers. St. Luke in a twelfth century Byzantine Gospel Book [Fig. 3] is shown in the process of composing his text. He sits rather comfortably on a cushioned stool with another cushion under his feet. His book lies open on a table before him as he meditates on his next words. While the artist of this codex omitted the gold background often found in Byzantine Gospels, the text

Figure 3: **St. Luke,** *Gospel Book,* MS A.900, folio 95v. Byzantine, twelfth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

on the facing page is set under a delicate blue and gold frame, and the words are written in different colours, including gold, which endows the Word with a sense of transcendental mysticism.

Initially the Gospels were read in a continuous fashion, but by the seventh century selected passages had been collected to be read in conjunction with specific feasts of the Church. These extracts were arranged to follow the liturgical year and contained in Gospel Lectionaries carried in ecclesiastical processions, displayed on the altar, and read from during the service. To facilitate the deacon's assignment of reading the appropriate text aloud, the script was usually large and clear and stress marks for chanting or emphasis were frequently added. Appropriate miniatures emphasized major text divisions as seen in a fifteenth-century Parisian Gospel Lectionary for Augustinian use. The Adoration of the Magi, which illustrates the text for Epiphany (January 6), features striking detail and narrative focus equally emphasizing Christ's human and divine natures. The Child energetically twists in his mother's arms to grasp the gold casket presented by the oldest Magus, who has removed his crown in recognition of Christ's divinity. The two younger kings, on the other hand, still wear their crowns. One is depicted as an African, reflecting the idea that the Magi represented all races as well as all ages. Christ and the Virgin are resting in a dilapidated stable with holes in its thatched roof, reinforcing the idea of humility for the reader.

The Breviary contains all of the material used in the Divine Office, that part of the service which precedes the Mass. Originally designed for monastic use, it remained essentially a

book for the clergy. Like the Gospel Lectionary, the Breviary was arranged according to the liturgical year, but the specific contents varied according to the interests, wealth, and location of its owner. Some examples are richly illuminated, and others have more restrained ornamentation.

hoir books are large, enabling several singers to use one book. An antiphonal contains the sung parts of the Divine Office and a gradual that of the Mass; like the Breviary and the Gospel Lectionary, choir books are also arranged according to the church calendar. A page from an Italian choir book in the Sweet Briar collection contains the introit for Whitmonday in the form used for the Mass at the Feast of Corpus Christi [Fig. 4]. Verse 16 of Psalm 81 with appropriate musical notation fills the page: "Cibavit eos adipe frumenti, aleluia, et de petri melli...."[1] The large cream and ochre "C" rests on a blue background embellished with white penwork. Lush blue and green foliage with plump flower buds swirl around the interior set off by a patterned red ground while more delicate tendrils support a variety of flower heads and small golden balls in the margin. Flowers are appropriately incorporated as Corpus Christi is a festival of late spring-early summer, celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The seed pods in the center of the flowers resemble a honeycomb and may gently allude to the honey ("melli") of the Psalm verse.

anuscript copies of the entire Bible are relatively rare before the thirteenth century. As they were cumbersome and expensive to manufacture, individual books such as the Psalter or groups of books such as the Pentateuch and the

Figure 4: **Feast of Corpus Christi,** *Choir Book*, MS 1995.019, single leaf. Italy, fifteenth century. Sweet Briar College.

Gospels were more frequently produced. With the rise of the universities in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, demand for the entire Bible, the standard text for university students, increased. Quality and the extent of decoration varied with the student's aesthetic interest and pocketbook. One young man earned his father's displeasure when he "squandered" his allowance on manuscripts decorated with gold letters and grotesques.[2] Bibles for university scholars tended to be rather small in order to be portable. They were written with a tiny script in two columns on very fine sheets of vellum. Ready consultation was facilitated by standardizing the order of the books and by placing headings at the top of the page and initials in varying sizes to indicate chapter divisions.[3] Margins were often broad so a diligent student could take notes.

The decoration of this type of Bible varied from simple initials in red or blue to an elaborate cycle of miniatures preceding the text. Historiated initials open each book in a relatively deluxe thirteenth-century French Bible [Inside Front Cover]. Genesis begins with the initial "I" containing tiny scenes of the Seven Days of Creation, terminating with Eve; God in Majesty holds a book at the base of the initial linking the text to His Word. A page from a more modest contemporary Bible containing the end of Parables and the prologue to Ecclesiasticus used small initials in blue or red to open each chapter and larger initials in rose or blue on a background of the contrasting color to demarcate major text divisions. Delicate flourishes extending into the outer margin and along the length of the page add importance but not extravagance.

Literacy in the Middle Ages, as noted above, was closely linked to one's ability to communicate in Latin, the language of the church and the university. But it was not the language of the court or of the convent; most particularly it was only rarely the language of women. Women were not, of course, students at university or clerics in cathedrals, yet they, too, appreciated religious, scholarly and entertaining material. Patrons of important texts included women. For example, Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica may have been translated into French in the late thirteenth century as the Bible Historiale by Guyart des Moulins at the behest of Mahaut, Countess of Artois (d. 1329), a significant patron of the arts whose chaplain succeeded Guyart as dean of the chapter in Aire-sur-Lys (Artois).[4]

Peter Comestor's text was an extensive interpretive work based on brief Biblical passages. The work was designed for scholars who owned glossed copies of the Bible that augmented the commentary. The broader audience interested in Guyart's French adaptation, on the other hand, needed a full biblical text as well as extensive commentary. Rosemarie McGerr makes the point that the Bible Historiale was a transformation rather than a simple translation of Comestor's text.[5] Combining a respected commentary with an approved translation of the Bible ensured the preservation of orthodoxy while catering to a wider audience. Guyart himself said he was protecting his soul and those of his readers from "the devil who each day obstructs, troubles, and taints the hearts of men...."[6] The devil's antics are clearly illustrated in the miniature which opens the Gospel of John [Fig. 5]. John concentrates on writing his Gospel with pen case and inkwell close at hand. His eagle symbol lifts its wings to frighten away the devil, but the damage is done. The inkwell has been

Figure 5: **St. John the Evangelist on Patmos,** *Bible Historiale,* MSW.126, folio 195v. Paris, late fourteenth century. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

knocked over and ink pours down the hill while the devil skips gleefully away. This particular copy was owned in the late fourteenth century by Jean, Duke of Berry, an enthusiastic and renowned bibliophile for whom an image of this nature would have provided amusement.

The 150 psalms or songs known as the Psalter was one of the most popular books of the Bible. It was used as a personal prayer book by ecclesiastical and lay people alike from the ninth century until it was gradually replaced in the fourteenth century by the Book of Hours for use in the secular world. The Psalter also often served as a primer for learning how to read. Monastic discipline required that the entire book be read each week and a set order was established resulting in an eight-part division.[7] To enable an individual to find the appropriate starting point for each day's psalms, the opening initial of that psalm was given more elaborate treatment. Psalm 26 in a late thirteenth century French Psalter illustrates the opening text, "Dominus illuminatio mea..." with an historiated initial "D" [Fig. 6].[8] David, the putative author of the Psalms, sits in the center. Christ ("Dominus") on the left places a crown on David's head and an additional figure, who is possibly Samuel, presents David to Christ. Samuel anointed David king at the Lord's command, "Arise, anoint him; for this is he."[9] Thus David's royalty and sacramental nature are linked. A complete border surrounds the text and is inhabited with a variety of figures. A woman with a club flees a two-legged dragon across the bottom, and a hunting scene occupies the lower right corner. A man with a club blows his horn to encourage his hound, who lopes up the side unable to catch the scampering rabbit. Marginal subjects such as these typify a genre of decoration that provided both

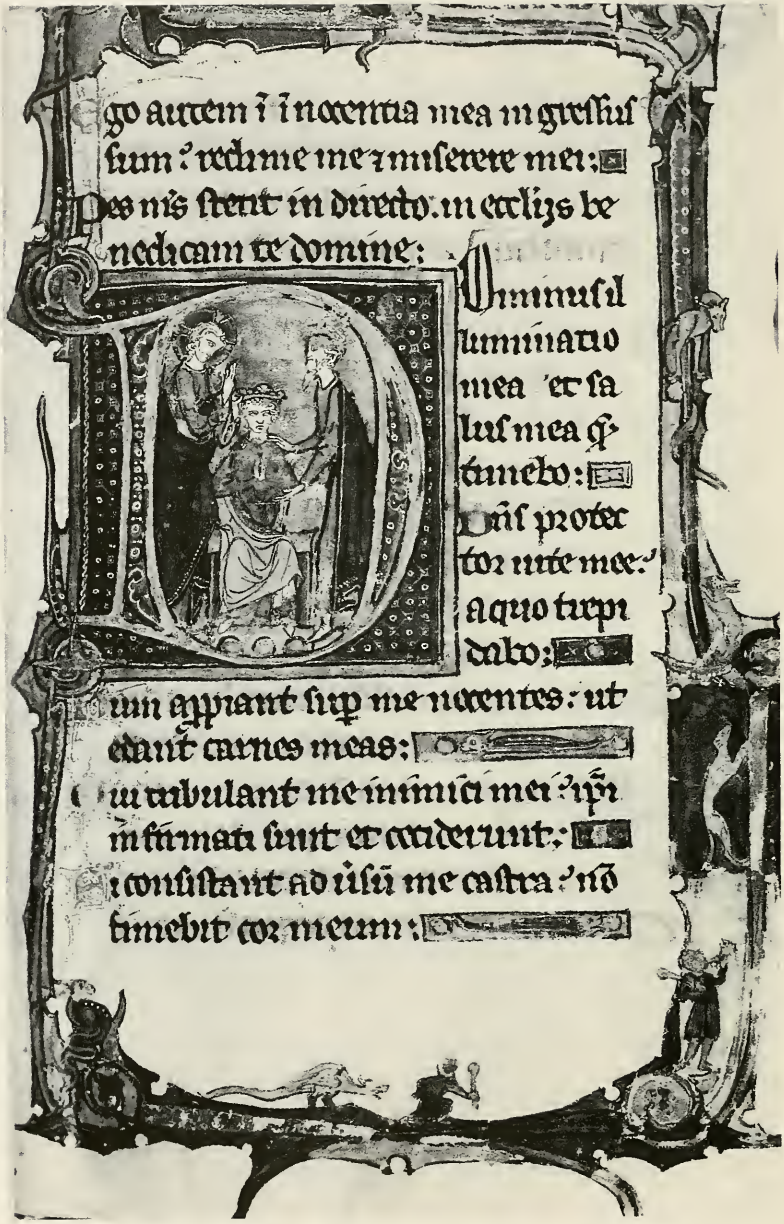


Figure 6: **David, Christ and Samuel;** hunting scene in lower border, Psalm 26, *Psalter,* MS A.544, folio 25. France, late thirteenth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

entertainment and enlightenment for the reader. A hunting scene provided a fitting visual commentary on the text, the first three verses of which refer to the Lord's protection against enemies who "come upon me to eat up my flesh"— the dragon or the hound.

In the thirteenth century when the Psalter became popular outside the monastery, textual material began to expand. A calendar was frequently introduced at the beginning enabling the owner to follow the liturgical year with its round of devotions calibrated according to importance. Major feasts such as Christmas and Easter were given special attention and written in red or gold. Saints associated with a particular locale could be featured and birth or obituary references included, providing clues to ownership. Astrological information was also often cited and the calendar was frequently decorated with images related to the signs of the zodiac and the appropriate labor of the month. The latter category reflects the medieval attachment to the soil by emphasizing seasonal activities such as pruning grapes, haymaking and harvesting. Alternative activities such as hawking and feasting provided variety.

s the Psalter became more closely associated with lay piety, imaginative elements increased in the decorative scheme. An English Psalter of about 1300 contains a sequence of Canticles, a Litany of Saints, and the Office of the Dead which opens with a delicate, exuberantly inhabited initial spilling over into the margin and terminating in a penwork flourish at the bottom of the page [Fig. 7]. Nestled into the tendrils of the leafy vine are hybrids and fictional animals reserved in white

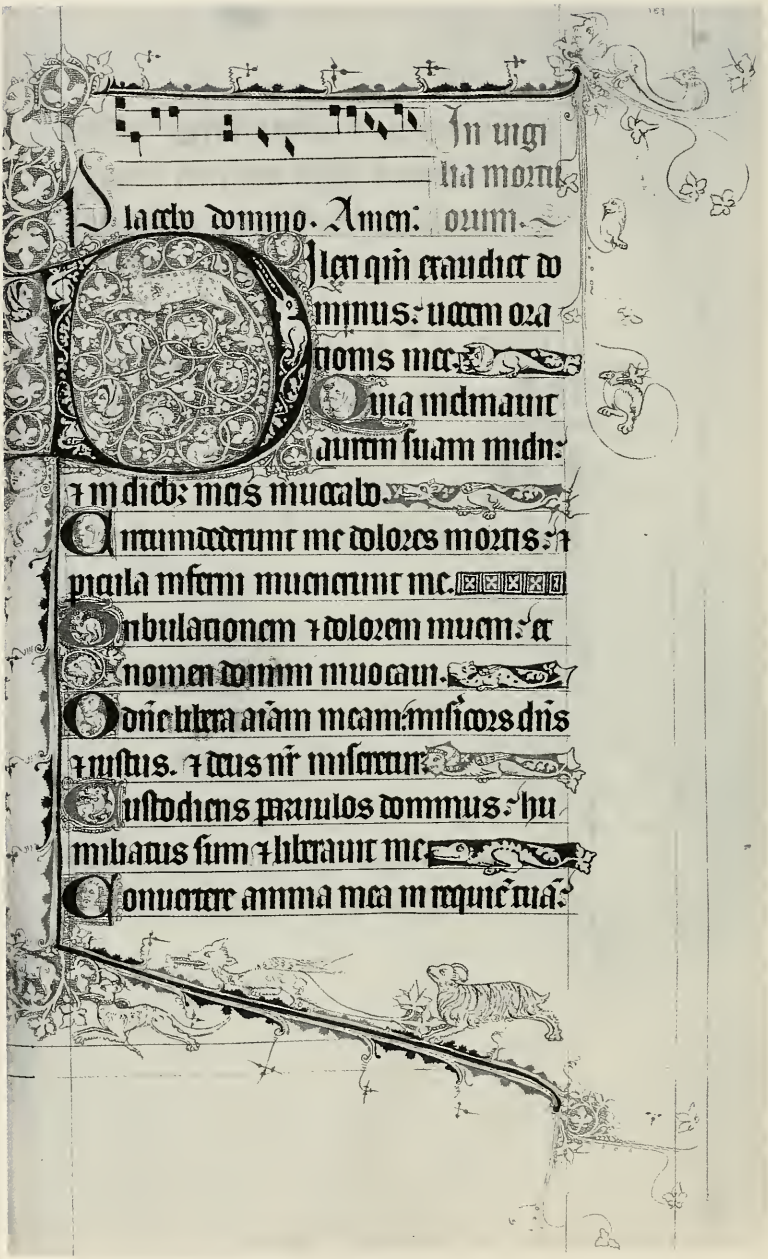


Figure 7: "**Dilexi quoniam...**" Office of the Dead, *Psalter,* MS W.79, folio 159. England, early fourteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

against a rose background; even the blue of the initial has been embellished with imaginative creatures and foliage. The page is further enlivened by human faces peering out from small initials and by animals both zoological and mythical in the line-endings, scampering up the diagonal penwork flourish, or dangling precariously from tendrils curling into the outer margin. There is nothing inherently funereal about this lively decoration, which is characteristically English in its expressive use of line and its fanciful nature.

ooks of Hours gradually replaced Psalters as the prayer book of choice among devout laics. The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary forms the core of a Book of Hours and consists of a series of devotions to be said at each of the eight canonical hours.[10] Earliest references to the Little Office date from the tenth century, and the rise in its popularity matches that of devotion to the Virgin. Initially created for use by religious orders and the clergy, the Office formed part of the Breviary and, when it was adopted by the laity in the twelfth century, it was attached to the Psalter. By the fourteenth century the Psalter had been dropped and other prayers and devotions added to form the Book of Hours. The Calendar, Penitential Psalms, Litany, and Office of the Dead were also borrowed from the Breviary. Four Gospel lessons, special prayers to the Virgin, and Suffrages or brief devotions for selected saints were also usually included. More elaborate books contained additional sets of devotions such as Hours of the Passion, the Cross and the Holy Spirit. The extreme variation in these and other additional elements means that each book is essentially unique.

Illumination varied in both quality and quantity but was intrinsic

to the Book of Hours; it was rare not to have any pictures. The text was typically in Latin. The secular reader was generally not literate in the strict sense of reading Latin and may have been only semi-literate in any sense of the word. Thus the illumination served as an aide-mémoire as well as visually enriching the book. Simpler Hours would have a single miniature at the opening of each section, a sort of pictorial bookmark; the more elaborate may have hundreds of miniatures, historiated initials and marginalia.

Books of Hours survive in greater number than any other medieval book. They were especially popular in France, and even those made for individuals from other countries were frequently produced in Paris. Initial ownership is rarely clearly indicated, but text and image may offer clues as well as providing glimpses into late medieval society. Even modest exemplars were expensive, and owners took great pride them. It is not unusual in more deluxe books to find coats of arms in an initial, placed at the bottom of the page, or used as the pattern on the costume of an individual, thus identifying the owner.[11] More often one finds a depiction of an anonymous owner such as the woman kneeling at prayer in the opening initial of the Hours of the Virgin [Front Cover]; such a depicton or the use of feminine endings in prayers are useful indications of female ownership but leave the question of identity open.

The Little Office or the Hours of the Virgin Mary was illustrated with scenes from her life with an emphasis on Christ's infancy. Matins is typically illustrated by the Annunciation, represented in an elegant Parisian Book of Hours produced about 1420 [Front Cover]. The Virgin kneels at her prie dieu, one hand still

resting on her open book. She turns from her devotions towards the archangel Gabriel, whose scroll contains his salutation, "Ave Maria...." It is the moment of the Incarnation; the Dove of the Holy Spirit sent from God the Father above hovers over her head in an architectural space that suggests a Gothic oratory or room for private prayer. While this miniature presents an orthodox interpretation of the Incarnation, the Virgin also provides a model of behavior for the female owner of the book depicted in the initial "D" below.

A miniature for Prime in the Hours of the Virgin from another fifteenth-century Book of Hours illustrates the growing importance accorded Joseph in the late Middle Ages [Inside Back Cover]. The Holy Family was cited as an exemplar of the ideal family, a sort of earthly Trinity. The Virgin is immersed in her reading, undoubtedly of a devotional nature, while Joseph sits at her feet and tenderly cuddles the Child. The mother's superiority is suggested by her literacy, but Joseph also is shown in a useful capacity, not as the ineffectual old man of earlier traditional images.

Death was ever present in the Middle Ages, and the Office of the Dead was generally included in a Book of Hours. It seems to have originated in the ninth century as a set of prayers for private devotion and consists of part of the actual funeral service as chanted by the officiant preceding the funeral Mass or Requiem. The mourner could participate in this solemn ritual by reading along with the clergy. One standard image for the opening of the Office of the Dead is a funeral service. In an early fourteenth-century Book of Hours from Northeast France two clerics stand to one side of the bier and three female mourners

to the other. One cleric holds an open book with "Placebo," the opening word of the Office, written across the page. Reader, text, image and event are united.

"The Three Living and Three Dead" was a particularly popular theme in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, occasionally finding its way into the Office of the Dead [Back Cover]. According to the legend, three well-dressed young men riding in the country came upon three skeletons who greeted them with the sobering words, "As you are, we once were; as we are, so you shall be." The presence of the cross in this miniature clearly indicates the path to be followed in preparation for the inevitable. Two roundels in the margins illustrate the fact that Death is no respecter of persons or of social station. A dancing skeleton dragging a pope from the church door is juxtaposed with another cavorting skeleton accosting a well-dressed youth. Even the hybrids so popular in medieval art are not exempt from the Great Leveler: a hybrid skeleton to the left of the bottom roundel aims his spear at an elegantly dressed female hybrid on the right.

ecular themes and imagery entered the repertory of devotional texts in response to expressions of interest by lay people. Texts of a secular nature also proliferated in the high and late Middle Ages. Henry of Huntingdon, a canon of Lincoln Cathedral, probably wrote his Historia Anglorum at the request of Alexander of Blois, Bishop of Lincoln (1123-48), to whom the book was dedicated. An early thirteenth-century copy contains an illustration of King Stephen and his supporters, Gilbert and Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert, on February 2, 1141, before the Battle of

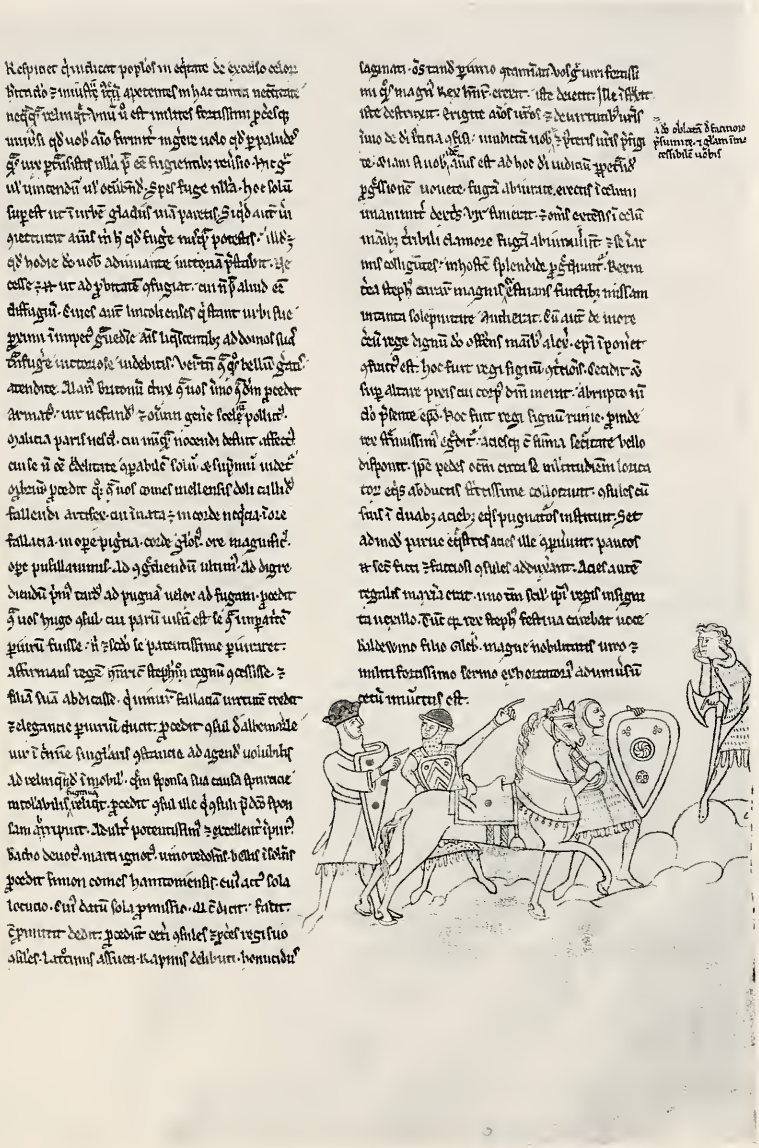


Figure 8: **King Stephen before the Battle of Lincoln,** *Historia Anglorum,* MS W.793, folio 105. England, early thirteenth century. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Lincoln [Fig. 8]. The scene appears at the end of the passage describing a rather unusual episode, one treated more extensively by Henry of Huntingdon than any other chronicler.[12] Stephen, who did not have a powerful voice, asked his supporter Baldwin to exhort the troops and bring them to fighting pitch before attacking the forces of the Empress Maud, Henry I's daughter and Stephen's rival for the throne of England. The speech was unsuccessful, they lost the battle, and the king was captured. Stephen, identifiable by his crown, and Gilbert armed with helmet and shield, stand on the left and gesture toward Baldwin, who leans on his battle axe on a mound on the right. A soldier in mail leading a spirited horse represents the army Baldwin is preparing to address. The illustration was drawn in brown ink without a frame, intimately linking it with the text and providing an alternative way to "read" the episode.

While Latin remained the language of the Church and the university, vernacular translations began to appear in books designed for the court and for nuns. Devotional literature such as the Apocalypse and the Bible Historiale cited above were translated into French, the language of the aristocracy in England as well as in France.[13] Secular literature also grew in popularity; romances and royal histories joined saints' lives and miracles of the Virgin as the reading material for the nobility on both sides of the Channel.

The romance developed as a literary genre in the twelfth

century. The most popular subjects derived from the Arthurian legends and the Trojan War. Knightly quests to win a lady's love became entangled with the carefully constructed conventions of courtly love.[14] Le Roman de la Rose was one of the most important and complex of the romances which dominated the courtly literature of late medieval Europe. Guillaume de Lorris, who began the poem about 1237, wrote in the courtly love tradition of the romance; Jean de Meung, who completed the work about 1277, inserted a strong element of satire. Composed as a dream vision, Le Roman typically opens with a miniature of the poet in bed. The Fool who stands at the foot of the bed is drawn from the text, "...if someone should wish to say or think/ 'Tis fond and foolish to believe that dreams/ Foretell the future, he may call me a fool."[15] The text is written in two columns with a decorated initial at the beginning. Smaller initials indicate subsections of the text. They are alternately red and blue with delicate penwork flourishes filling open cavities before spilling out into the margin to draw together all the text. The conventions which circumscribed courtly love are echoed in the careful structure of text, decoration and miniature. Some copies are more fully illuminated, but in general they share the format of two columns of text, miniatures scattered throughout and initials linking various section of the text.

The monks at the royal abbey of St. Denis were the official historiographers of the French kings. During the reign of Louis IX (St. Louis), a monk from the abbey used those Latin chronicles to produce a version in French for the king and inner members of the royal circle. Les Grandes Chroniques de France was

designed to glorify the monarchy and to provide models of behavior for current rulers. The first edition, published in the 1270s, traced the royal line from the fall of Troy to the reign of Philip Augustus. Like the Historia Anglorum, subsequent editions added material to keep it up to date; it concludes with the reign of Charles V in the 1380s, although copies continued to be produced until the English interregnum in the 1420s. Anne Hedeman, a specialist in this field, has suggested that the "political attitudes of the manuscripts' owners" can be deduced from the selection of miniatures.[16] Royal manuscripts of Les Grandes Chroniques could be lavishly illuminated with up to four hundred miniatures in rich colors, but Parisian booksellers also produced more modest versions for the nobility. The pictorial cycles were shorter, usually selecting a scene to mark the beginning of a king's reign, and grisaille painting with thin washes of color replaced the brilliant color of deluxe exemplars. In royal copies the emphasis was on events in the lives of Charlemagne and Louis IX, two holy rulers from whom the Valois claimed descent; pictorial programs designed for aristocratic owners show greater interest in the general glorification of kingship.[17]

Sacred or secular, books were precious possessions and the images they contained were highly prized. Although literacy was on the rise in the later Middle Ages, learning by memorization remained the norm in both monastic and secular spheres. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) maintained that one became literate by storing visual images in one's memory while reading. In the mid-thirteenth century Richard de Fourneval suggested

that image and text were parallel paths to the two doors of memory: sight and hearing. In the early fifteenth century an Augustinian friar, Jacques Legrand, wrote:

> "The first rule for remembering something, and especially for incorporating it by heart, consists of putting into the heart and the imagination the figure and form of the thing to be remembered. Wherefore one best learns from illuminated books, for the difference between the colors bestows remembrance of different lines, and therefore of the thing itself."[18]

The resonance of these words persists for a twentieth-century audience. We, too, use the parallel paths to memory of text and image, making medieval matters appropriate for today's visually oriented world.

Notes

[1] "He should have fed them also with the finest of the wheat: and with honey out of the rock should I have satisfied thee." All Biblical translations are from the King James version.

[2] Hastings Randall, The Universities of Europe on the Middle Ages, new ed. by F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford, Clarenden Press, 1936), p. 423, note 2: "fecit libros suos babuinere [sic] de literis aureis."

[3] Verse numbers were not introduced until the sixteenth century, although small initials in a different color from the rest of the text were sometimes used to designate a new verse. Christopher De Hamel, A History of Illuminated Manucripts (Boston, David R. Godine, 1986), p.116.

[4] Rosemarie Potz McGerr, "Guyart Desmoulins, the Vernacular Master of Histories and his Bible Historiale," Viator 14 (1983), p. 222.

[5] McGerr, p. 213.

[6] McGerr, p. 216

[7] Reading began with Psalm 1 at Matins on Sunday; Monday Matins began with Psalm 26, Tuesday with Psalm 38, Wednesday with Psalm 52, Thursday with Psalm 68, Friday with Psalm 80 and Saturday with Psalm 97; Vespers began with Psalm 109 on Sunday and continued throughout the week without further divisions.

[8] Psalm 26 (27): "The Lord is my light and my salvation..." (King James Version).

[9] I Samuel 16: 12 .

[10] The eight hours are Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. Each Hour contains psalms, scriptural readings and hymns. Matins and Lauds were often combined and said at dawn, Prime at 9 a.m., Terce at noon, Sext at 3 p.m., Vespers at sundown, and Compline in the evening. Men and women under monastic discipline

would have said the Office during each of the canonical hours, but a lay person was more likely to pray once a day, early in the morning, or simply to read the Hours during a church service.

[11] Heraldry and the Book of Hours both achieved maturity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reflecting the growing secularization of society.

[12] Lilian Randall, "Dorothy Miner Memorial Purchase: Historia Anglorum by Henry of Huntingdon," The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin 31, No. 2 (1978), p. 2.

[13] Unlike monasteries which took men from many economic backgrounds, convents accepted women only if they had a dowry, that is, only if they came from a landed, aristocratic family. These women spoke French and had been influenced by the traditions of the court. Books such as the Apocalypse would have appealed to them for its dramatic as well as its devotional content.

[14] Courtly love as codified by Andreas Capellaunus in The Art of Courtly Love (1174-86) was extra-marital, fraught with danger to both participants, ideally unconsummated and thus never resolved.

[15] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, The Romance of the Rose, transl. Harry W. Robbins (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1962), p. 3.

[16] Anne D. Hedeman, The Royal Image, Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422 (University of California Press, 1991), p. xxii.

[17] Hedeman, p.152.

[18] Jacques Legrand, Archiloge Sophie. Livre des bonnes moeurs, ed. E. Beltram (Paris, 1986), Ch. 24 as quoted in and translated by Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," The Art Bulletin (LXXIV, 1992), p. 78.

Check List of Manuscripts

"De remedio inanis gloriae...," Apostolica sententia..., MS 1954.002, Single Leaf. Carolingian, ninth century. Sweet Briar College.

St. Luke, Gospel Book, MS A.900, folio 95v. Byzantine, twelfth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Maiestàs (Christ Enthroned with Gospel Book and Blessing), metal and jewelled Book Cover now with Byzantine Gospel Lectionary (MS A.900), twelfth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Seven Days of Creation, Genesis, Bible, MS W.60, folio 5v. Paris, c. 1220. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

King Stephen before the Battle of Lincoln, Historia Anglorum, MS W.793, folio 105. England, early thirteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Falconer on Horseback, Calendar: May, Psalter, MS W.36 folio 3. Bruges, mid-thirteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

David, Christ and Samuel; hunting scene in lower border, Psalm 26, Psalter, MS A.544, folio 25. France, late thirteenth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Text pages, Genesis, Bible, MS A.820 folio 3v.-4. England, late thirteenth century. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Text page, Parables and Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, Bible, MS 1995.018, single leaf. France, mid-thirteenth century, Sweet Briar College.

Funeral Service, Office of the Dead, Book of Hours, MS W.38, folio 165v.-166. NE France, early fourteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

"Dilexi quoniam...," Office of the Dead, Psalter, MS W.79, folio159. England, early fourteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

The Poet Dreams a Dream, Roman de la Rose, MS. A.2200, folio 1. France, c. 1325. Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

"Quem terra pontus..," Hours of the Virgin: hymn for Matins, Book of Hours, Single Leaf. England, fourteenth century. Private collection.

St. John the Evangelist on Patmos, Bible Historiale, MS W.126, folio 195v. Paris, late fourteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

The Annunciation, Hours of the Virgin: Matins, Book of Hours, MS A.2130, folio 20. Paris, c. 1420. Library of Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Wedding of a Daughter of Philip V and Queen Jeanne of Burgundy, Grandes Chroniques de France, MS W. 139, folio 380v. Paris, early fifteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Nativity, Hours of the Virgin: Prime, Book of Hours, MS W.191, folio 53. France, mid-fifteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Text pages with flourished penwork initials, Breviary, MS A.1934, folio 7v.-8. Bologna, mid-fifteenth century. Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, Hours of the Virgin: Matins, Book of Hours, MS A.2161, folio 21v.-22. Flanders, mid-fifteenth century. Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

"Ad te levavi...", Psalm 24 for First Sunday in Advent, Choir Book, MS A.1888, folio 1v. Spain, late fifteenth century. Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Feast of Corpus Christi, Choir Book, MS 1995.019, single leaf. Italy, fifteenth century. Sweet Briar College.

Three Living and Three Dead, Office of the Dead, Book of Hours, MS W.241, folio 92. France, late fifteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

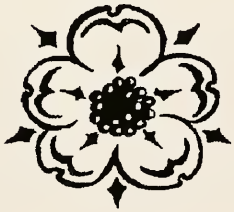
Presentation in the Temple and Adoration of the Magi, Gospel Lectionary, MS W.296, folio 25v.-26. Paris, late fifteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Prayer Book, MS 1995.016, single leaf. Italy, late fifteenth century. Sweet Briar College.

Text Page, The Brothers, Act III, Scene iv, Comedies of Terence, MS 1954.006, single leaf. Italy, late fifteenth century. Sweet Briar College.

Binding, Choir Book, MS A.2041, Spain, c.1500. Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.

Binding, Psalter, MS A.810, Germany, fifteenth century. Library of Mr. Harry A. Walton, Covington, VA.



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above: **Nativity**, *Hours of the Virgin: Prime, Book of Hours*, MS W. 101 folio 53, France, mid 15th century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

back cover: **Three Living and Three Dead**, *Book of Hours*, MS W. 241 folio 92, France, late 15th century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

Placebo dño.
lem quoniam
audiet dñs